1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

614 Uru *warige* should carry game and honey for the men of Morane
554 and Unapane.

Some of the village Veddas of those days had cloth, and
291 when dancing to the *yaku* they wore the long cloth garment
184 called *kangalla*; the wilder Veddas had no cloth and wore leaves, but it was not clear whether they had not also a certain amount of bark cloth which was their ordinary covering, and leaves may have been worn in addition when they invoked the *yaku*[1].

685 The old man knew of the custom of a man keeping a piece
609 of human liver in his betel pouch; it was universal and in his young days every Vedda desired to have a piece. Strangers,
778 even Veddas, who intruded on the hunting grounds would be
826 killed and their liver taken, no other part of the dead man being used, and the custom gave rise neither to warfare nor to vendettas[2].

764 Caves in which a death occurred were deserted, the corpse
768 being covered with leaves; perhaps men very near dissolution were left before death had actually occurred, but this did not seem certain. Bones found in the cave when the group returned to it after an interval of some ten or twelve years were thrown
775 away quite carelessly. The spirits of the dead became the Nae
769 Yaku who, with Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka, gave game and prosperity. The *kirikoraha* ceremony was performed for the Nae Yaku, and *adukku* (cooked food), which even in the old days consisted of coconut and rice, was offered to them. The wilder
771 Veddas gave nothing to the Buddhist priests and made no offer-
184 ings at shrines, nor did they know the Kataragam God, Kanda Swami, though the village Veddas worshipped him and knew that Walliame had been taken to wife by him, and honey was presented to the goddess at certain shrines, especially one at Kokote Sila, frequented by the village Veddas.

535 A few of the village Veddas would dance for the Sinhalese
751 in order to protect their cattle, bring prosperity to their villages, and secure them from epidemics; they would dance *kolamaduwa* which the old man pointed out was derived from a

[1] Cf. p. 213.
[2] For details of this custom see Chapter VIII.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

considerable part of Vedda possession is a fraud, deliberately conceived and perpetrated, for knowing, as many Veddas do, of the frequency with which the Sinhalese see "devils" and "spirits" of all sorts, nothing would appear easier, if fraud were intended, than for a shaman to assert that he could see the spirits which every Vedda believes are constantly around him.

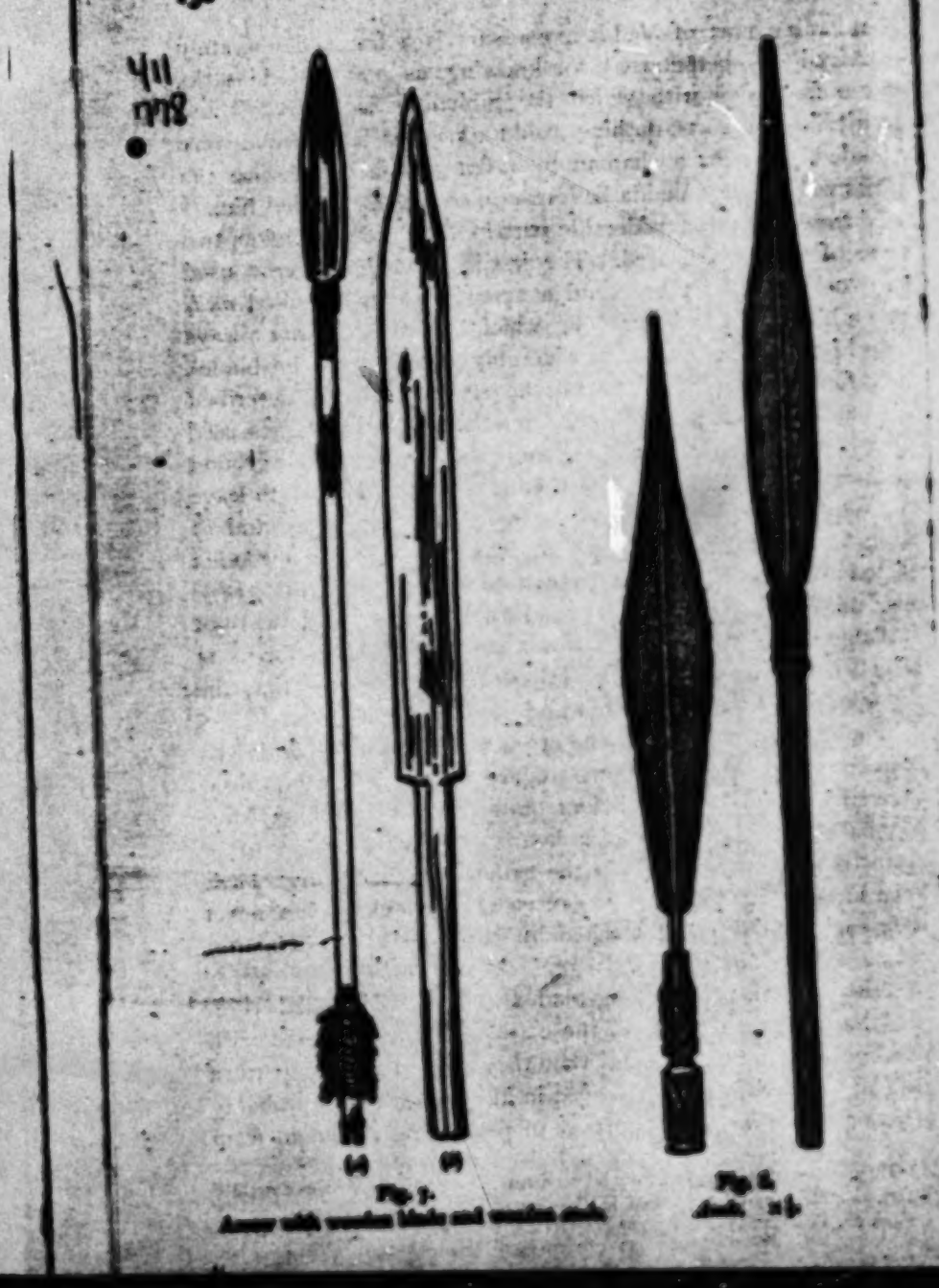
Arrows play a considerable part in the Vedda religion, two forms of arrow being used. The first is the ordinary arrow used for shooting game, the second a ceremonial arrow called *aude* with a blade 8 to 18 inches long, which is usually but not always hafted into a handle often considerably shorter than the blade[1]. Both forms of arrows are used in the possession dances described in Chapter IX, but in addition to this the shooting arrow is used as a protection to infants, being commonly thrust in the ground by the side of a sleeping child when its mother is forced to leave it. We heard of this custom in several communities, and at Sinha Wannaiya, where arrows were scarce, were shown a wooden bladed arrow which was said to be used in this way (figure 7 (*a*)); *aude* might also be made of wood when an iron blade was not available, and figure 7 (*b*) shows a wooden *aude* made for us at Henebedda. These facts are important as showing that the power of the arrow lies in itself and not in its iron blade.

The protective power of the arrow was noted by Nevill, who stated that the Nilgala Veddas "regard the symbol of an arrow, placed by their babes, as efficient protection for it. They leave their babes upon the sand for hours together, with no other guard than an arrow stuck in the ground by their side. Their belief in the efficacy of this has received no shock. They never know such a child to be attacked by wild beasts, pigs, leopards, jackals, etc. or harmed[2]."

With regard to the long-bladed and short-handled ceremonial arrows, the handles of these are sometimes covered with bobbins so roughly executed that they do not form a pattern and can hardly be decorative even in intention, so that probably they only serve the useful purpose of preventing the hand from

[1] These ceremonial arrows are doubtless identical with the large blades described by various authors as formerly used in shooting elephants.

[2] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 184.



1;Seligmann & Seligmann I-8 (1907-1908) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

slipping. Such ceremonial arrows are generally heirlooms, not necessarily passing from father to son but rather being handed down in apostolic succession from shaman to shaman, and among the village Veddas of Bintenne I have handled one such blade with a history running back for five generations.

Figure 8 shows two ceremonial arrows which we were able to collect. Besides these we saw similar *ande* at Omuni and were told at Sitala Wanniya that Handuna had formerly possessed one. Rutimeyer has figured one of these ceremonial arrows about 14 inches long, obtained from Kaira the "senior" of the Danigala Veddas. These arrows are carefully preserved by the shaman, and just as he himself observes certain dietetic rules, avoiding eating pig and fowl which are supposed to be particularly repulsive to the *yaka*, so among those more sophisticated communities who believe in the periodical uncleanliness of women, special precautions are taken to avoid the possible contamination of the *ande*[1]. This is generally done by keeping them in some comparatively remote spot such as a cave or in the roof thatch. It is necessary that the shaman should hold one of these arrows in his hand when invoking Kande Yaka; he should also have one for Bilindi Yaka, though as a matter of practice Kande Yaka and Bilindi Yaka were often invoked using the same *ande*, another *ande* being reserved for invoking the *Nae Yaka*. Both arrows were, however, commonly held in the hands during the whole of the *Nae Yaka* ceremony, but in spite of this no confusion seemed to arise nor had the onlookers the least difficulty in saying which *ande* belonged to Kande Yaka whenever they were asked.

The offering of rice in the pot would be stirred with the *ande*, and betel leaves might be ceremonially transfixed with it. Among the Veddas of Unuwatura Bubula the testing of the quality of the food provided for the *yaka* was performed with the help of the *ande*, the shaman possessed by Kande Yaka using the *ande* to remove from the pot a few grains of rice which the *yaka* in the person of the shaman several times examined before expressing his approval of the offering provided.

[1] The belief in the periodical uncleanliness of women has been borrowed from the Sinhalese. It did not exist in the "wildest" group we met with, on the other hand we found it among all the more sophisticated Veddas, excepting a remarkable where these had come under foreign influences.

Seligmann & Seligmann Z-6 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

God." He is one of the four gods who protect Ceylon, said to have come from India, and is worshipped chiefly by Tamils, who coming from the north-east frequently pass through the territory of the Kovil Vanamai Veddas on their pilgrimage to the temple of their God in the south of the island.

The following information concerning Kataragam is taken from Mr Herbert White's *Manual of Uva*.

Although the present temple is of brick and of no architectural pretensions it is the lineal descendant of the temple erected some 2000 years ago by Dutugamunu, King of Mogam, as a thank-offering for assistance in overcoming the Tamil King Elala[1]. But Kataragam was a holy place before this, for the Mahawansa describes how the princes of Kataragam assisted at the planting of the shoots of the sacred Bo tree and how one of the miraculously produced offshoots was planted at Kataragam itself[2].

"The aspect and natural features of the country surrounding the temple of Kataragama are not calculated to make a favourable impression upon the eye when they first meet it. There is nothing in them to attract and invite it. Everything, with the exception of the temple and the river on which it stands, at the village of Kataragama and its vicinity looks wild, dreary and monotonous....

"The population of the village may be estimated at forty, including women and children; but it is liable to fluctuation at different periods of the year, from the influx and efflux of the pilgrims who resort to the temple. And I need scarcely add that the village, its adjacent hills, and the surrounding country, are all temple lands, and their occupants are attached to the temple service as its tenants[3]."

The guardian of the temple and its lands, the latter including a domain of some 60,000 acres, is a Buddhist headman resident at Badulla, and although there are now no Veddas near Kataragam, tradition states that there were formerly many Veddas in

[1] Kataragam is situated at the south-east of the island, on the left bank of the Manikganga, at a distance of more than forty miles south-east of Hambantota and about forty miles south-east of Badulla.

[2] Mahawansa, Chapter xxx.

[3] *Manual of Uva*, p. 49.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-6 (1907-1908) 1911
AES Vedda AES

the temple forests who in some sense served the temple and were known to the Sinhalese as the Kovil Vanneasi Veddas. Concerning these Nevill says: "This name means Vaeddas of the Temple wilds, and they were from time immemorial guards of the Katthiragam temple. Their district was from Kumbukan Ara to the Temple precincts, and north as far as the settled villages of Butala and Maha Vaedda Rata....They are said traditionally to descend from the Vaeddas who found the noble babe Valliamma left in the forest, and reared her as their child." Writing in 1886 Nevill points out that he had himself met the last remnants of these people most of whom were, however, "too reduced by want and disease to retain any memory for old customs."

At the present day the sanctity of Kataragam is reputed to be due to the tradition that the god halted on the highest of its seven hills on his return homeward from the conquest of the Asuras. "The particular spot...where Kataragama first met Valliammai in the guise of a hungry and thirsty *pandaram*, or mendicant, and begged of her to appease his hunger and quench his thirst, when she was watching her *chena* cultivation as the adopted daughter of a Vedda chief, and preparing cakes from a composition of honey and *saavi* or milled flour, is pointed out at a distance of more than four miles from the temple. The precise spot again, with footmarks of an elephant on a rock, where she had suddenly encountered the ponderous brute and entreated the *pandaram* to protect her from its attacks, is also shown to the enthusiastic pilgrim[1]."

Now Valliamma was the daughter, or the adopted daughter, of a Vedda, and to this day such Veddas as those of Bandaraduwa who have come under the influence of Hinduism, although acknowledging that the Kataragam God, whom they do not call by any other name, is greater than the *Nae Yaku*, nevertheless hold him in less awe and treat him with less formality than do the Tamils and Sinhalese.

These Veddas know nothing of the other three great gods who protect Ceylon, and they regard Valliamma as a Vedda and speak of her as their elder sister (*akka*), while the Kataragam

[1] *Op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 18a. [2] *Manual of Uva*, p. 50.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

the offering is placed. The dance is held at night and continues until morning when the whole community eat the offering though only the men dance. We were shown a pot in a small cave near the settlement which was said to be kept there purposely, and which it was stated was used for boiling rice for the ceremony.

We may now consider the religious beliefs of certain communities in which the third stratum of belief already alluded to is dominant. Such communities are the village Veddas of Uva Bintenne and those of the Eastern Province and Tamankaduwa among all of whom the *Nae Yaku* were known and reverenced but the great Vedda heroes have all disappeared, their place having been taken by numerous Sinhalese gods and demons. Some of the village Veddas even build temples, rough bark and mud huts like their own habitations in which the various symbols of the *devijo* and *yaku* are kept and in which the shamans dances.

Such a temple was seen at Yakure dedicated to Ganapa Bandar Deyo, here also were two rough stones leaning against a tree on the *bund* of Yakurewaewa which were held sacred to Gane Deyo (Ganesa).

At a place called Nadena, where there were said to be Veddas until a few years ago, on the road running inland from Patrippu in the Eastern Province, there is a temple containing an image of Ganesa and this is looked upon as a Vedda shrine. Other temples or shrines in the Eastern Province are traditionally associated with Veddas though none survive at the present day, except, we believe, at Portiv near Patrippu and at Mandu.

Village Veddas of the Bintenne.

At Dambani and the neighbouring settlements of Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle the *Nae Yaku* are held to be of great importance. Reference has already been made on page to the difficulty of working with these village Veddas, and the information concerning the religious beliefs of the Dambani folk was obtained from the Arachi of Belligala; with regard to Bulugahaladena and Wellampelle the little information we possess was obtained at first hand and carefully checked,

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

were generally associated with rocks and were not the spirits of the dead. There is however an exception, namely, Dehigole Yaka, whose history is as follows. A man from Dehigole, a Vedda, went to Kandy to see the king, probably Śri Vikram Rajah Sinha, the last of the Sinhalese kings, who was dethroned early in the last century. On his way back he was killed by an elephant, and now his spirit looks after the chena and prevents elephants breaking into and destroying the crops. A leafy branch is tied to a pole or dead tree in the chena, and Dehigole Yaka and other spirits are invoked, an offering of sweetmeats, jaggery, coconuts and rice cooked in coconut milk being made and subsequently eaten by the owners of the chena. There was said to be no invocation of the *yaku* of the recent dead, nor before taking honey which is obtained from trees.

LINDEGALA.

The "Veddas" described on p. 76 from Lindegala in the neighbourhood of Kallodi worship a large number of male and female spirits including the Bo Gaha Yaka and the Na Gaha Yaka[1].

As already indicated the people of Lindegala are Veddas in scarcely more than name. The most important of them, an old man with his son and son-in-law, visited us at Kallodi. The old man who is tall and presented typical Sinhalese features is a renowned *vedarala* (medicine-man) and is employed by the Sinhalese for miles round. He brought with him to show us two ceremonial arrows with which he invoked the spirits. One of these arrows is of the shape of a Hindu trident, the other is of the usual Vedda shape and is notable on account of the silver *bo* leaf with which the blade is inlaid. This *anda* is shown in Plate XXV. Both of these had been presented by the Sinhalese king to one of his ancestors, apparently about 100 years ago.

[1] Although these *yaku* were spoken of in the singular there were many individuals of each species. Some of the other more important *yaku* which were worshipped were named, Watagala Wanniya, Gala Degala Wanniya, Gurugala Wanniya, Maldampahe Yaka, Lepat Yaka, Ehengala Yaka, Meherugal Yaka, Kumal Yaka, Walmat Yaka, Hiliwagala Yaka, Mihimal Heida Yaka, Kehelpatagala Yaka, Mawarangala Yaka, Horag Yaka, Imbanagala Wanniya, Mulehangala Wanniya, Gara Rajah Wanniya. These were only an insignificant fraction of the total number of *yaku* known to our oldest informant.

Seligmann & Seligmann B-8 (1907-1908) 1911
ANS Vedda AXS

The story told us was that when this ancestor, who was a Vedda headman and a shaman of great fame, gave up his jungle life and began to cultivate, the Sinhalese king sent him the two *aude* as tokens that he granted the land on which he settled to him and his descendants for ever. It seems that previously to this they had led a more or less unsettled life, or had perhaps been dispossessed of their own territory during the troubles of the period. The arrows were in fact "selain" and were considered the equivalent of a *sannasa*, the inscribed metal plate or rock face on which grants of land were formerly recorded. Inquiry showed that it was by no means uncommon for a man to be given a ceremonial example of an implement of his trade or profession as a *sannasa*. Thus, in the Kandy Museum there is a beautifully worked Bull's bell (*gonmiligediya*) given as *sannasa* to Rantun Mudianse of Walala head of the Pattiya or Nilamakkara people by King Narendara Singhe of Kundasale who reigned 1706—1739. We may also refer to a ceremonial weaver's shuttle in the Colombo Museum and to the lacquered arrows described in Chapter XI.

The *Nae Yaku*, Kande Yaka, and Wanegata Yaka are considered less important than the tree *yaku* and the host of *yaku* alluded to above. Indigollae Yaka and Rahu Yaka are recognised but not considered very powerful, though it was said that all these were formerly invoked to give success in hunting. The *bolamadiwa* ceremony is known, very many spirits being invoked including Unapane Kiriamma. The *Nae Yaku* become attendants on some of the *yaku* mentioned in the above list and these are invoked first and bring the *Nae Yaku* with them, but it appeared that it was no longer the custom to hold a *Nae Yaku* ceremony within a few days of a death. Among the *Nae Yaku* mentioned was the spirit of the man on whom one of the last Sinhalese kings had bestowed the land of which the inlaid *aude* shown in Plate XXV is the *sannasa*. Another *yaku* greatly venerated is that of Kimbul Otbe, an important individual living a few generations ago concerning whom Nevill has written at some length[1].

[1] Nevill, who says that he could find no clue to his identity, still regarded Kimbul Otbe as "a great historical personage," for "The Sinhalese of the Eastern Provinces

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

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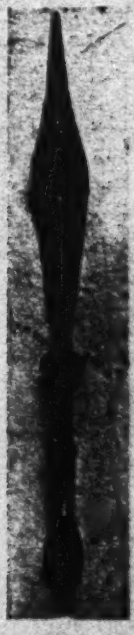
Plate XXV



Aude with inlaid silver Bo leaf

[facing p.172]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Mangara Deyo is invoked to protect cattle. About a month before our visit a nephew of the shaman suffered from headache and fever and woke up in the middle of the night in a great state of alarm. It was ascertained by stone augury that Mangara Deyo had sent the sickness, offerings were made to him, and the youngster speedily recovered.

There are no dances at a man's death or invocations to the spirits of the dead, nor did there appear to be any particular spirit who gave luck in hunting, indeed it seemed that game was little sought, the whole activity of the community being concentrated on cattle breeding.

The temple of Mangara Deyo is a small bare hut, with the roof projecting a few feet beyond that wall in which the door is cut. The inside of the temple is quite bare except for a narrow wooden rack about a foot wide which runs round the two side and back walls at a height of about four feet from the ground. In one corner of this was a pile of *anda* of all shapes and sizes which were said to belong to Mangara Deyo.

Rotawaewa.

Mr G. W. Jayawardene writes as follows concerning the beliefs of the Tamankaduwa "Veddas" described on p. 56. "They regard Adukganna Hulawali Yaka and Vedi Yaka as the important *yaku*. Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the spirit to whom they look to be cured of sickness. When any one is ill he or she or someone on their behalf puts aside one or two cents which are wrapped in a clean piece of cloth and from each house an offering of food is made. Vedi Yaka is the spirit they look to for help in getting game. When an animal is killed the heart is taken and roasted and offered on a stick with the end split into four to hold the heart under a tree." Commenting on this Mr B. Horsburgh writes, "Adukganna Hulawali Yaka is the spirit of a Vedda who was killed by King Mahasena for refusing to leave Minneriya tank when he was going to restore it. The name Adukganna Hulawaliyaka means Hulawali Yaka who takes the *adukkuwa* or present of food (from the offering made to him). He is only seen in dreams,

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

535 787 springing away and shouting "Ah! Ah!" while taking short deep breaths. The natural outcome of the *yaka's* gratitude is a promise of favours to the community. When prophesying good luck, the shaman places one or both hands on the participant's shoulders, or if he carries an *aude* or other sacred object, the shaman holds this against the latter's chest or, more rarely, presses it on the top of his head. His whole manner is agitated and he usually shuffles his feet, speaks in a hoarse somewhat guttural voice taking short deep breaths, and punctuates his remarks with a deep "Ah! Ah!"

787 778 535 With regard to the arrows and other special objects which are used when invoking the *yaku*, in which class we include such bower-like structures as the *alutyakagama*, the *ruwala* and the *kolomaduwa*, all described in this Chapter, we must point out that these simply act as conductors and resting places for the *yaku*. It was stated that Kande Yaka could not and would not come when invoked, unless his arrow were held, and the same idea accounts for the arrow dance, performed round an arrow struck in the ground in order to obtain game. Again the leaves in the bower-like structures with the aid of which the *yaku* were invoked were considered the resting place of the *yaku* which they left in order to enter the shaman. The number of *yaku* who came to the bower was not thought to be limited to those who possessed the shaman, on the contrary, important *yaku* were thought to bring their attendants (*piriwari*), who remained among the leaves which their lord left to possess the shaman, and it was to drive away the *yaku* who might unduly prolong their stay in the bower prepared for them, that the leaves were beaten and more or less stripped from the bowers at the end of the ceremony.

778 Before leaving the subject we would point out that though *yaku* might be spoken of as arrow-yaka (Itale Yaka), bow-yaka (Dunne Yakini) and so forth, such names do not imply that the *yaka* in question is immanent in the object or is believed to stand in specially close relationship to all objects of that class. In the case of Itale Yaka the idea was "the *yaka* who is invoked by means of an arrow"; in the case of Dunne Yakini the name simply refers to the skill of the nameless heroine who killed the

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

boar wounded by the companions of Bandura, as is related in the Bambura Yaka dance.

The Henebędda Veddas washed before performing or assisting at the *kiriberaha* seen by us, and every Vedda who invoked the *yaku*, either let down his hair before beginning to dance or while dancing, in the latter instance presumably as he felt "possession" coming upon him. Many Veddas put on the *kangala* before dancing, this being a length of white cloth worn round the waist as is shown in many of the photographs reproduced in this chapter. Presumably this was not worn for the arrow dance, which is especially performed by unsuccessful hunters without any special preparation. We do not think that a leaf girdle was ever worn as a ceremonial garment when dancing. Handuna of Sitala Wanniya said that at some time, which he put more than three generations ago, there were Veddas, whom he called *Attukola Vaddo*, who lived so remote from the Sinhalese that they had no cloth and so always wore leaf girdles, but he was quite confident that no Veddas who had cloth ever wore such girdles especially to invoke the *yaku*. This agrees with Nevill's conclusions[1] and does not conflict with the experience of the Sarasins[2].

The Roman numbers in parentheses after references to invocations in the accounts of the ceremonies described in this chapter refer to the invocations given in Chapter X.

The Arrow Dance.

This, the simplest of the Vedda dances, has been described at length by the Drs Sarasin who saw it danced by "Veddas of the Nilgala district[3]." We have already quoted Bailey's account of the arrow dance as he found it danced by the ancestors of these Veddas two generations ago, and Monsieur Emile

[1] "I have especially questioned the best informed Vaeddas whether leaves were worn, either at ceremonies or otherwise. They all say yes, they were worn once, when cotton cloth was hard and dear to get, by those who lived where there were no Rui trees. They were only worn by the poorest, and from necessity, not choice. The leaves chosen were those of shrubs, the branches of which ended in rather pendulous sprays of foliage, and these were tucked under the waist string as a sort of apron." (*Op. cit.* p. 188.)

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 387—389.

[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 312—314.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
AXS Vedda AXS

THE DOLA YAKA CEREMONY.

222 937 Collecting honey is almost as important to the Vedda as hunting, for not only is honey valuable as food but it is one of the most important articles of barter, and every year at the end of the honey season the Moorman pedlar[1] penetrates into the wildest parts of the jungle with iron, cloth, pots and beads to exchange for the highly prized jungle honey.

222 776 796 Nor is honey collecting without risk, for the "Little People of the Rocks" can be very angry, and their sting is deadly. Hence the Veddas ask for success in honey collecting from their natural protectors the *yaku*, and Dola Yaka is especially invoked for this purpose. Although there is no tradition concerning his actions or his dwelling place his aid is invoked for success in collecting *bambara* honey from trees, and for the more dangerous task of cutting the combs from the craggy hill tops and rock faces in which the colonies of the rock bee make their homes. The successful invocation of Dola Yaka can only take place in the early afternoon at the time when the bees are most active in visiting flowers.

796 978 A *maesa* with a single platform about 4 ft 6 in. from the ground was built, and two arrows were fixed in the centre of the space cleared for the dance (Plate XLVII). A betel leaf was placed on the top of each and pressed down on the shaft so that it rested on the feathers, and a small bead necklace was looped over the head of each arrow and rested on the betel leaf. These leaves were said to represent the large bundles of leaves which the Veddas use to smoke the bees from the comb, and the necklaces represent the creeper by which the twigs would be tied together and by which it would be lowered over the cliff edge. It was noted that one arrow was taller than the other, and we were told that the taller arrow was the one which would be used in cutting the comb, and that when the honey was taken it would be thrust through the withy binding the bundle of leaves used

[1] The term Moorman is applied to the numerous Mohammedans who make their living as shopkeepers and pedlars. Many of them are proud of their alleged Arabic descent, but it is only in a minority that skin colour or features suggest Arab blood, and the appearance of the majority of Moormen scarcely differs from that of the Tamils of the East Coast, among whom their most considerable settlements are found.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

Plate XLVII

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Dola Yaka ceremony, the offering to the Yaku (Sitala Wanniya)

[facing p.252]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

as a smoker; the other was "just an arrow" and did not appear to fulfil any specific purpose. Small leafy twigs from the surrounding trees were placed on the ground round the arrows, and on these a number of betel leaves and areca nuts were placed as an offering, the twigs being a device for preventing the offering to the *yaku* from touching the ground.

All the adult men of the community decided to take part in this dance, as only those who become possessed by Dola Yaka would derive benefit from the ceremony, that is, obtain special favour and help from him in gathering honey. In order to provide a supporter for each man, the dance was performed in two parts, Nila, Kaira and Pema taking part in the first performance. The ceremony began by these men walking several times round the arrows singing an invocation (No. XXXI) as they moved clockwise and occasionally salaamed to the arrows. Soon they began to dance and at times passed their hands, palms downwards, over the top of the arrows. This was the old custom; the reason for it was not known. After a little while Nila fell and was supported, soon all three dancers became possessed and bending forward shook their heads over the arrows. Then Nila taking the lead, they all moved to one end of the dancing ground, where they assumed the strained attitude of men listening attentively for the distant hum of bees, with body bent forward, one hand to the ear and the other raised as if to impose silence on their companions. Suddenly they all leapt back to the arrows and danced round them wildly, and shook their heads low over them; again they listened for the bees and beat their chests with joy, crying, "We hear many bees, there will be plenty of honey."

Returning to the arrows they danced round them again, at times falling back into the arms of their supporters, and again springing forward to dance. Nila gave each of us a betel leaf as a sign of favour from Dola Yaka, and then spoke in a gasping voice to Handuna who answered him. All beat their bodies with both hands, driving away imaginary bees. Again they listened for the bees, and this time picked up some leafy twigs and pretending they were alight shook them beneath the *mastu*, which now represented a comb, but they soon sprang back and

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

The story relates that there was once three brothers, and one day the youngest was very angry and quarrelled with his wife. He left her in his cave and went out hunting, and when he returned he found a strange man in the cave with his wife. The stranger escaped so quickly that the angry husband could not shoot him; but he then beat his wife, and though he did not kill her he jumped into the fire and was burnt to death and became Gini Rahu Bandar or Yaka. When they died his two brothers became Rahu Yaku also.

A post was placed in the centre of the cleared dancing space, the upper end was split and bound so as to form the support for a pot containing coconut milk, a few areca nuts and betel leaves. This was called the *wilkoraka* (lake pot), for once in the old days water was required to make the coconut milk for an offering to the Rahu Yaku, and as there was no stream near by it had to be fetched from a lake; hence the name *wilkoraka*. A *mesa* (well seen in Plate LXVIII, fig. 1) about 4 ft 6 in. high was built of sticks at one side of the dancing ground, and two pots of cooked rice and coconut milk were put on it as an offering to the *yaku*. A piece of bark to represent a necklace was put on the *wilkoraka*; it was not known why it was necessary to offer a necklace to the Rahu Yaku, but it was always done[1]. Wooden *kadawa* (swords) were used when invoking Rahu Yaku; these were two flattened sticks about 18 ins. long decorated with bands of red and yellow pigment and with guards made of twigs of fresh green leaves. One of these *kadawa* without its guard is shown in fig. 11.

The use of the sword (*kadawa*) and the objects themselves are both curious, for Veddas have never used any weapon but the bow and axe, and Handuna explained that though these were called *kadawa* they really represented ceremonial arrows

[1] It was quite clear that Vedda men never wore necklaces, but *yaku*, especially dangerous *yaku*, as the Rahu Yaku were declared to be, were sometimes offered necklaces or pieces of bast to represent them. Thus at Unuwatura Bubula, Indigollae Yaka was considered especially dangerous, and the shaman kept a particular string of old and highly valued beads and used it only when making invocations to this *yaku*. These and other instances strengthen the idea expressed in Chapter VIII that beads are prized among the Veddas for their magical properties, the idea of ornament being quite secondary.

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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or *aude*, yet *ran kaduwa* the "golden sword" is mentioned in many of the songs and invocations, so that it seems that the whole of the Vedda ceremony of the invocation of the Rahu Yaku has been taken over from the Sinhalese, among whom the cult of Gini Rahu Bandar occurs. This borrowing must have occurred in ancient days, perhaps as long ago as the time when the Sinhalese invaded the Vedda country and carved the drip ledges on the caves, for as already mentioned the Sinhalese Rahu Bandar has become identified with three Vedda brothers whose spirits have retained only traces of the fierce nature of the Sinhalese demon. Once having borrowed the idea of a sword (*kaduwa*) and invocations in which it was mentioned, its name would remain, though in course of time the implement would become assimilated to the Vedda *aude*.

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Fig. 11. *Ran kaduwa.* ×¼.

Handuna and Kaira put on *kangula* and stood in front of the *wilkoraha* with the *kaduwa* in their hands, and Handuna began to recite the invocation to the Rahu Yaku (No. XXXV). Kaira took up the words and repeated them, always a few words behind Handuna. Soon they began to dance slowly round the *wilkoraha* holding the *kaduwa* in the same way as the *aude* is held in dances, i.e. right hand on point and left hand at the base of the handle, and as they danced they twirled them slowly in their fingers (Plate XLVIII, fig. 1). After a short time they both swayed their bodies more and the dance became more vigorous; then they began to shiver and shake their heads and became possessed by the two elder Rahu Yaku. They shouted, leaped and raised their *kaduwa* in the air, twirled them round with their

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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When later we asked Handuna for the *kadirus* as specimens, the request was not granted until something was given in exchange to the Rahu Yaku, as Handuna said they might cause trouble if their property were taken from them.

WANAGATA YAKU.

The story of the Wanagata Yaku was that once a family became imprisoned in their rock-shelter by the fall of rock which blocked the entrance to the cave, so that the whole family died and their spirits became Wanagata Yaku, who are now invoked for help in hunting. In spite of this the ceremonial with which these *yaku* are invoked did not appear to have any reference to the story.

A sapling rather more than six feet high with its head and branches was stripped of its bark and thrust into the ground in the centre of the space cleared for dancing; its upper end had been split previously so as to form a support for small objects, and long strands of bast were tied to it. A handkerchief was thrown over the top and pressed down between the split ends, and some betel leaves were placed on this.

The shaman wearing a *kangala* danced slowly round the post with a handkerchief in his hand, while the invocation was sung. The handkerchief was soon exchanged for an *aude*, and it was noted that this was not the same one that had been used when invoking Kande Yaka in a previous dance. In order to avoid putting the handkerchief on the ground the shaman tied it round his shoulder. Then taking some betel leaves he danced with these and the *aude* in his hands, then transfixing the betel leaves on the point of the *aude* he raised them to his head, thus offering them to the Wanagata Yaku (Plate XLIX, fig. 1). Soon he became possessed and bent his head, shaking his hair over his face as he clung to the post with one hand while his whole body quivered and shook. With a shout he seized two *aude*, and holding one in each hand came to one of us (C. G. S.) and holding both *aude* over his shoulders said, as he quivered and shifted from one foot to the other, "You have called us, what do you want?" He returned to the post, when a rice

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Fig. 1. Wanagata Yaku ceremony, the shaman offers betel leaves to the Yaku (Unuwatura Bubula)

Fig. 2. Wanagata Yaku ceremony, the shaman possessed by the Yaku (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 260]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

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Fig. 1. Alutyakagama ceremony, the beginning of the invocation (Unuwatura Bubula)

Fig. 2. Alutyakagama ceremony, the shaman and his supporter at the *alutyakagama* (Unuwatura Bubula)

[facing p. 261a]

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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the spirits of people who frankly were not Veddas, such as Peradeniya Bandar; others, spirits of men like Panikki Vedda already referred to, famous for catching elephants and buffaloes, who were Veddas in little more than name. Others, if Veddas in name, yet behaved like Kandyan chiefs, if we may judge from their deeds quoted in the invocations, such as building dagabas and bringing paddy fields under cultivation. Some of the Maha Yakini are regarded as the wives of such chiefs, and Unapane Kiriamma is in this community regarded as the wife of Unapane Wanniya, the chief who first brought the paddy fields at Unapane under cultivation.

The Kolamaduwa Ceremony at Bendiyagalge.

This was admittedly not a full ceremony. Although the bower was built the correct offerings were not made nor were all the *yaku* invoked, and a disturbance which took place the next evening was said to be due to the anger of the *yaku* on account of the lack of offerings (see p. 125). Plate LIII, fig. 1 shows the *kolamaduwa* with bunches of leaves hanging from the horizontal bars of the framework and a circle of leaves called *kolawgewa* suspended from the centre, that is, the crossing of the horizontal bars. The shaman, Sita Wanniya, Randu Wanniya and Kaira, holding bunches of leaves in their hands, walked round the circle within the upright posts while they sang an invocation to the *yaku* to come to the leaves of the *kolamaduwa*. Soon they began to dance (Plate LIII, fig. 2) with the usual step, gently at first, but gradually swaying and bending more and more they brushed the leaves of the *kolamaduwa* with those they held in their hands at each step.

A basket covered with a cloth had been placed on a tripod in one corner of the bower, and this should have contained various offerings for the *yakini*, including flowers and beads; not having either to offer, a few leaves had been put in it. Sita Wanniya seized this basket called *pahadama*, and danced with it in both hands, then after a short time he shouted "Ah, ah!" and became possessed by the Maha Yakini. When the Sita

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Fig. 1. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the *kolamaduwa* (Henebedda)

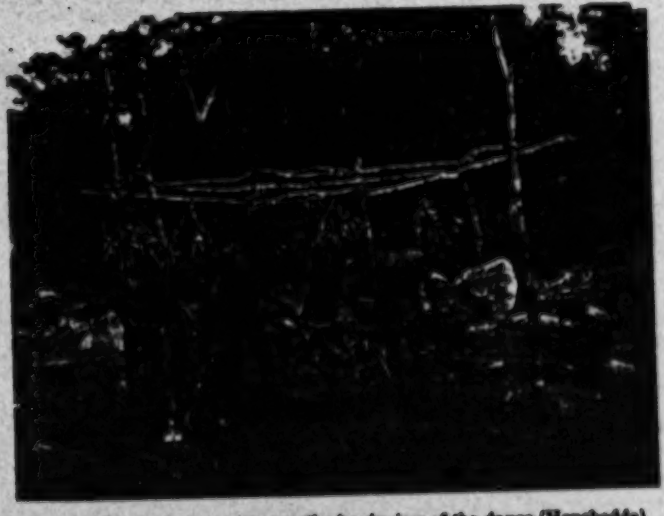

Fig. 2. Kolamaduwa ceremony, the beginning of the dance (Henebedda)

[facing p. 268a]

1:Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
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Fig. 1. Kolamadawa ceremony, the shaman and Sita Wanniya become possessed (Henebedda)*

Fig. 2. Kolamadawa ceremony, slashing the leaves from the kolamadawa (Henebedda)*

[facing p. 268]

There are a few Verdas at Panichchenkeni, while near Vakaral still further to the north there is a Verda settlement of considerable size. Some eight miles beyond this are two Verda settlements Parchenai and Nargantonai situated close together. We heard of other smaller settlements of Coast Veddas in the neighbourhood of Batticaloa, but these were not visited as time was short and it appeared that those Verdas we did not see differed in no respect from those we met. We were told that formerly there were Coast Veddas south of Batticaloa and we later discovered that there were, and still are, certain shrines or temples within a few miles of the coast (e.g. at Mandur), which were generally recognised as Vedda shrines at which Veddas especially worshipped. This matter has been alluded to in Chapter VIII, and here it is only necessary to point out that the religion of the Coast Veddas is strongly tinged with Tamil customs and beliefs; indeed, many Verdas had Hindu sect marks upon their foreheads.

Some, but not all, of the Coast Veddas know the names of the *muruge* to which they belong, and a few also know the names of some of the more important *muruge* of the Veddas inland. Uru *muruge* appears to be the *muruge* to which most of the Coast Veddas who remembered their ancestral *muruge* belonged, but a few men stated that they belonged to Ogatam, Kavatam, Umata or Umatam, Aembalaneduwe and Aembale *muruge*: the last named and the one before it probably being the same as the Aembela *muruge* found inland. Some of the Coast Veddas whom we questioned said they had heard of, and still knew of certain of the old Vedda *muruge*, and such men were generally able to mention Morane *muruge* while fewer also knew of Unapane *muruge*.

The Coast Veddas have become expert fishermen and make and use various forms of nets including a cast net. They also spear and shoot fish, using a bifid iron spear-head which they have adopted from the Tamils. For shooting fish they use the usual Vedda bow, but the arrow has become a harpoon with a shaft as long as the bow into which the iron with its running line fits loosely. One of the nets used by the Coast Veddas is seen drying behind the house in the background of Plate LXIX,

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-S (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX8

346 springing from the upper end of this limb had been removed with the exception of three which were left to support between them a rough earthenware pot. The remains of a *kudawaram* also existed somewhat to the south-east of the doorway about the spot marked *X* on the plan. The post supporting the weight of that portion of the roof extending beyond the door had tied round it a fringe of dried shredded coconut leaves. Within the temple stood a *kudawaram* (marked *K*) behind which in one corner of the temple was a model of a sailing boat about two feet long partly square-rigged and clearly meant to imitate a European ship. The temple was for the worship of Kapalpei, Ammal and

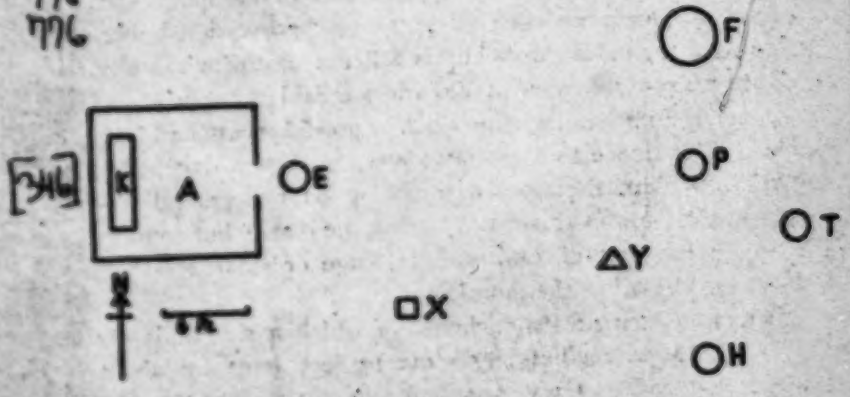

Fig. 14. Plan of Vanda temple and its surroundings.

Komara Devam. The name Kapalpei means ship-demon. We could only discover that he is regarded as the most powerful of the beings worshipped and that he is a foreigner who reached the country in a ship. Ammal is a Tamil Goddess who sends smallpox and skin disease[1].

976 We could at the time discover nothing concerning Komara Devam, though doubtless he is the same as Kumara Deva, an immigrant deity, whose characteristic weapon is a silver sword, who was one of the chief spirits invoked to remove sickness by

[1] Mr A. Ehur Kumarakulasingha tells me that there are temples to this Goddess at Jaffna, but that there are none in Batticaloa though possibly there may be some in the neighbourhood.

1;Seligmann & Seligmann E-5 (1907-1908) 1911
AX5 Vedda AX5

the inhabitants of Gongolla a primitive jungle village some 20 miles from the coast in the Eastern Province[1].

When the dance, of which we saw a partial rehearsal, is about to take place the inside of the temple is decorated with cloths and the green branches of trees including coconut leaves, and the model of the boat which commemorates the arrival of Kapalpei is hoisted to the top of the tall pole standing outside the temple. If the dance is undertaken in order to cure a sick man, milk is placed in the pot which is supported on the rough stand (fig. *Y*) mentioned above. The sick individual, and probably the dancers, are fed from this and at the end of the night's dance the last portion is thrown out into the jungle for Kapalpe.

The dancers should wear a petticoat made of strips of coconut leaves and green leafy twigs of other trees, and it was stated that the ministrant wore these just as did the other dancers. After the dance a number of these ceremonial garments are preserved in the temple where they are allowed to dry. Rice, plantain and chewing material are piled on the *kudaram* during the ceremony and camphor is burnt. Kapalpe sees the food provided and the honour done him and is propitiated.

The stone *pilliyar* has been frankly adopted from the Tamils though Mr Kumarakulasinghe pointed out that no sacred Tamil stone was so rough[2]; further, according to the same informant Tamils do not dance round either *pilliyar* or *kudaram*.

At Kalkudah it was said that there was a special "priest" or ministrant whom we did not see. We gathered that in some way he officiated in connection with the land cultivated by the community and he perhaps corresponded to the Sinhalese *gamarala*.

Some idea of the actual character of the ceremony and of the nature of the *kudaram* and pole can be derived from the dance rehearsed for our benefit at Vakarai. Plate LXX, fig. 1

[1] Cf. Brenda Z. Seligmann, "A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese," *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XXXIX, 1909.

[2] This may be true of the Tamils of the east coast, but we have seen some shrines containing equally rough stones set up by Tamil coolies on plantations. Worship may be performed at such shrines, offerings of rice and chewing materials being made at them and afterwards eaten.

8: Spinel D-8 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

8. YAKKURE

This be the verse you grave for me:
Here he lies where belonged to be;
Home is the sailor, home from the sea,
And the hunter home from the hill.

R. L. STEVENSON

THOUGH a lush meadow studded with fragrant wood-apple, we entered 000
Kalukolu Eba a hamlet of some twenty huts nestling in the picturesque
dishabille of a *chena* rank with maize, vegetables and chillies. Here as
elsewhere in the Vanni there was much evidence of parangi (framboesia).
Fully three-fourths of the people showed active or quiescent traces of
the disease. A boy had a necklace of loathsome papules; a woman
covered with nodes in practically every bone of her body was boiling a
decoction of dry leaves as a salve; another was stewing monitor flesh
in chilli-water.

The first sign of our nearness to Yakkure was a cattle-penstamped clean, 231
where half a dozen boys were securing cows and yearlings for the night.
Scratching around the stockade with the tameness of domestic fowls
were a jungle cock and his dames, and from every side came the jerky
cries of wild chanticleers. A cairn of tumbled stones marked the site of 172
an old *vihare*. Blue in the distance, across a wide lagoon bordered with
sedge, lotus and dead trees, stood the long rock called Gunner's Quoin,
with a bare patch, high on its tree-mantled flank, pointed out to us
as the Maraweethiya, a historic cave.

Yakkure itself was a negligently palisaded hamlet nestling ina grove of 361
tamarinds, in full view of a beautiful tank. We were unfortunate in
our choice of a camping place. Five days of seclusion in the forest had
made us forget that the immediate proximity to a village always meant
flies, smells, and embarrassing attentions from forward men and coy but
curious women. There were other draw-backs too. At sunset, from a
pool near by, came a low, ominous hum auguring ill for our night's rest.
We lit fires, bestowed meticulous care on bed curtains, and bedaubed
ourselves with mosquitol. The lapwing's desolate cry, the doleful music
of water fowl, the booming of great owls, the distant trumpeting of
elephants, and more than all, the baffled mosquito murmur around, soon
lulled me to sleep. But my companion who had failed to stop up betimes
several holes in his curtain, the inside of which was found at dawn to be
plastered with a blood-sodden host, tells a different story!

Three miles from Yakkure are the well-known falls of the Mahaweli. 133
At flood-time their thunder is heard at the village. Once in a decade [731]
the waters creep up to and submerge the huts, sending the people up
trees, and their cattle into the forest to be drowned or killed by leopards.
With a *kapua* (priest) for guide, for the place is held eerie, we set out to [778]
visit the falls. Skirting an ancient aqueduct (*yoda ella*) which tapped
the river a mile above the falls, we came to open jungle bordering the
banks, that allowed us free passage through its colonnades of giant

5: Spinel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

133 timber. Such places are the favourite resort of sambur, of which on this morning we saw no less than six. From great tree-heights came the whirring of strong wings as gibbous-beaked hornbills took alarm. We were perhaps a half-mile from the falls when we first heard them like a pervasive hum of swarming bees. Soon we lost the noise; and turning to our guide for an explanation, learnt, inconsequently enough, that "the water does not cry after the morning; it cries loudest when the cock crows at dawn!" The sound swelled suddenly again as there opened before us, not the turbulent cascade we expected, but placid murmuring rapids that swirled in a wide sheet around and over a thousand sunnied boulders. Such were the falls as we saw them; but on occasion they could be a roaring power leaping over the granite to a wild cataract melody, surging widely to the outskirts of Yakkure itself, and bestrewing the jungle with great wrack that even now lay stranded high on forked tree-trunks. What wonder the place is held in awe and that men have a care how they journey to it, lest they be lost on the way or fall a prey to beast or demon.

172 A smooth rock on the bank bore the frettings of ancient craft; the
0718 tutelary god's *devale* (temple) it was said to be. Here we were irreverently seated, while our guides sat apart whispering at the profanation. The surface of the rock was socketed presumably to hold strong stanchions
[782] which in the old days supported a bridge across the water; while small oval pools, reputed to contain a mint of wealth from the accumulation of years of propitiatory and votive offerings, showed to our pagan vision nothing more than a few potato-like pebbles and sportive water beetles.

000 A few months before our visit, Yakkure was the setting of a gallant episode:—On the bund of the Polonnaruwa tank stands a shanty for forest-officers on circuit. Here one evening a wiry man of forty-five was amusing himself with his rifle. Placing a rupee against a tree fifty yards away he fired, holing it in the centre. He next made his targets a variety of live things that flecked the smooth surface of the tank, such as a cormorant or the barely visible head of a submerged crocodile. Every time his aim was true. The shots attracted a friend. "Testing your nerves as usual before an adventure?" he asked, walking up. "What is it this time? The Yakkure rogue* I'll bet."

"Yes, to-morrow I hope to get him," was the confident response. "You haven't seen *this* before, have you?" said the hunter handling his new rifle.

"You know best," said his friend; "but I should have brought a tried weapon if I were you, especially against such a beast as the Yakkure rogue is said to be. Only yesterday he smashed a boy to pulp. The villagers are too scared to leave their homes."

"This gun is all right. I've tested it. See," said he, indicating his hits, "I've been warned time and again against the use of light arms for elephants, but they have never failed me so far. Once, though," he continued thoughtfully "I had a near shave..... You know, I sometimes wonder whether the villagers appreciate what I do for them."

"They look on you as their greatest benefactor," replied his friend.

"It is good to know that," said the hunter. "For the last fifteen years, whenever I heard of a rogue in my province, I've gone after him; often at great trouble and expense."

*A dangerous elephant ostracised by the herd, and a menace to human life and property.

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

cries he had rushed in vain to the rescue. It speaks much for the dominance of man over animals that this puny fellow, armed only with a small hatchet, could live with impunity in such surroundings; and moreover leave his wife and children unprotected in their fragile leaf-hut while he was out in quest of food.

"Cha," I heard Sinna ruminating sorrowfully to himself, "the *goe*-catching dog is gone."

"Have you no other?" I asked.

"The one that's left isn't much good," he said. "With the bitch I lost I could catch six *goyas** a day."

The way to the caves was up the heavily-wooded, boulder-encumbered side of the hill, plentiful with caves of bear, porcupine and wild cat. On the sandy floor of one dark den were the footprints of a bear and her cubs that had just vacated it. Sinna was well ahead of us, as we clambered on trembling knees regardless of all else but where to gain foot-hold, when a timorous one called out to the Vedda from below, "There now, if a bear should come, don't you run away and climb a tree."

The little chap wagged his head acquiescingly. I asked him what he would do in such an event.

"We will also strike; he will also bite," was the cool reply.

Gaining a spur, at length we attained the first of the series of caves known as the Maraweethiya. A strong aroma of bats greeted us. Ant-hills grew out of the dusty floor of the cave, the plastered dome of which was ornamented with frescoes of Buddhas and *devas*. A decayed wooden image stood behind a flat altar stone supported on bricks, many of which lay fallen about. A broken wall partially shut in the cave, and another divided it off from a deep pool of crystalline water.

From here a passage protected by a low wall led through a narrow gulley flanked by small trees; thence by way of spurs, tunnels and deep grottoes we came to a shallow cave in full face of the sky, where we were the cause of much concern to a pair of peregrine falcons. They hovered above us crying perturbedly; now they would swoop boldly down almost within reach of our hands; now wing away with harsh cackling cries of alarm, as they discovered us handling their eggs, that lay amidst the debris of brick and tile.

Ahead was a fearsome pass, which we must negotiate to reach the last of the caves. It was no more than a shallow, sloping notch in the sheer side of the rock, overlooking a drop of about three hundred feet, and with seemingly nothing beyond it but eternity. On hands and knees we crawled through and were mightily relieved to find ourselves in the security of a large grotto. Here, before two patched stone images, we found a few of our carriers devoutly kneeling; on an altar-stone were their meagre oblations of ixora blooms they had gathered on the way. The virtue, it would seem, lay less in the quality of the offerings than in the attainment of this inhospitable shrine with its weathered and lonely gods.

We could go no farther; but hence along the crazy edge of the hill was the merest semblance of a break-neck way that led, we were told, to the ancient kingdom of the *rakshayas* (demons) with its foot-wide

*Monitor lizard

5: Spittel D-5 (ca. 1920) 1945 AX5 Vedda AX5

To ignore such warnings would be to court failure or even disaster. When a *kotaha* (large gekko) quaintly cries "krok, krok," a Vedda will seriously lean towards it and ask, "Shall we shoot a monkey to-morrow?" "Krok," says the *kotaha*, and the questioner's face falls, for here no answer is good news. Then there is that subtle thing the *hille*, an evil influence possessed by certain kinds of meat when eaten under circumstances too involved to explain. The flesh of pigs, peafowl, langurs and a species of fish (*urang*, *monerang*, *wandoorang*, *magurang*) are said to have this property; but here it would seem that the rhyming of the names has something to do with their evil association.

There is an interesting little spirit, belief in which (as with many of the other superstitions already mentioned) is as universal among the Sinhalese as the Veddas. *Bolhili*, *Vilirany*, or *Kunnu-yakkini** (dirty she-devil) is its name. It is said to have a nasty nack of grasping one's leg in the dark, and so making it wither to the thinness of an *illuk*-blade. The incarnation of a woman who died in child-birth it is thought to be, and comes moaning at night in the form of a light. The story is best told in the words of a solemnly sworn eye-witness:—Kalu Banda (the narrator) and his sister Balahamy were occupying a watch-hut in a *kurrukhan* field one dark night when they heard a moaning as of one in pain—"*andoa*, *andoa*, *oo oo oo*." Kalu Banda, suspecting what it was, told his sister not to speak—for the *villirany* is shy of women and vanishes at the sound of their voice. He then charmed a little oil, and placing it some distance away, called out, "If you have a stomach-ache, come, rub some oil, and go away." A shadow appeared at which Kalu Banda fired. On going to the spot, what should he find but a green blood-sucker with a red head! This is said to be the invariable discovery when the *bodili* is killed. The same is said of the devil bird; but here apparently the rule has exceptions; for I have met several people who shot at devil birds, and had a bird to show.

The identity of the devil-bird—*ulama* or *ulalena*——is still a matter of doubt; and it is a pity that those who have had the rare fortune to shoot this bird have not thought it worth their while to send it up for identification. Much of the mystery surrounding it is due to the fact that it cries only at night and has wide and sporadic circuits. That it has some sort of a crest, I think, there can be no doubt; also that it is a large bird mottled in its breast feathers like a jungle-hen. These particulars all my reliable informants (who shot the bird as it cried at night) have independently confirmed. It is supposed to be the brown wood owl (*Surnium indrani*) by some, the *Huhua nepalensis* by others. The theory that different birds are capable of uttering the devil-bird's cry, is, I think, quite untenable. Its note is too invariable and distinctive for that.

The cry of the *ulama*, like that of the owl (*bakumuna*) and *hanga*, is said to be a portent, varying according to its direction. Should it come from the west, it forbodes rain; from the east, good luck; from the north, the visit of a relative or friend; from the south, a death. One of these birds hovered about our camp one night uttering its blood-curdling calls, now from this direction, now from that, baffling the ingenuity of its interpreters! Its "hoo-oo" is most eerily human; but it has an even worse note, a gurgling chuckle, strongly suggestive of a person

*This is perhaps none other than the Ceylon loris.

λ [a species of lizard.—Ausl/pf]